

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15 NEA-10

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 IO-13 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19

OMB-01 RSR-01 /157 W

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R 081727Z AUG 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHCC 1113

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ROME

USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T USNATO 3743

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR - ITALIAN COMMENTS ON UK PAPER OF JULY 30

REF: USNATO 3732

FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL DELEGATION TRANSLATION OF SPEAKING NOTES  
CIRCULATED BY ITALIAN REP AT AUGUST 6 SPC MEETING (REFTEL)  
PPRESENTING ROME'S PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON UK MBFR PAPER.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

I AM IN A POSITION TO GIVE YOU THE FIRST REACTION OF MY  
AUTHORITIES TO THE BRITISH PAPER.

THE DOCUMENT CONTAINS WITHOUT DOUBT ELEMENTS OF EVALUATION  
WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTING AND WHICH ARE, IN  
ADDITION, COMPLEMENTARY TO THE MOST RECENT AMERICAN  
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PRESENTATION WHICH IT SEEMS TO US IMPORTANT THAT THE MEMBERS  
OF THE ALLIANCE BE ABLE TO CONSIDER.

IN DEPARTING FROM THE DATA CONTAINED IN THE AMERICAN PAPER

OF APRIL 30, (IN LONDON EVIDENTLY THERE WAS NOT TIME TO ANALYZE THE NEW AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION OF JULY 27 WHICH TAKES UP, IN PART, CERTAIN EVALUATIONS ALREADY EXPRESSED BY LONDON) THE BRITISH APPEAR PARTICULARLY TO WANT TO TRACE THE BASIC FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH THE NEGOTIATION SHOULD DEVELOP. PROCEEDING IN THIS MANNER, THEY ATTEMPT TO INDICATE THE RISKS AND TO RECOMMEND A CERTAIN PRUDENCE. THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES SHARE THE ANALYSIS OF THE RISKS (CREATING ZONES WITH SPECIAL STATUS, SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN EUROPEAN INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS) BUT, HOWEVER, THEY HAVE DOUBTS ON CERTAIN RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRUDENCE WHICH EVEN THOUGH LEGITIMATE, DO NOT APPEAR SUFFICIENTLY REALISTIC. FOR EXAMPLE, ROME CONSIDERS IT UNREALISTIC TO WISH TO MAINTAIN REDUCTIONS BELOW 10 PERCENT (A FORMULA WITH WHICH, IN THEORY, WE ARE IN FULL AGREEMENT) IN VIEW OF THE WELL-KNOWN TENDENCIES IN THE AMERICAN CONGRESS WHICH DEMAND REDUCTIONS REACHING AS FAR AS 50 PERCENT OF THE AMERICAN FORCES. AT THE SAME TIME, ROME AGREES WITH THE REQUIREMENT NOT TO REVEAL TOO EARLY OUR CARDS AND ON THE UTILITY OF A PRELIMINARY SOUNDING OF THE THOUGHTS AND DISPOSITION OF THE OTHER SIDE.

THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES IN PARTICULAR:

1) ESPECIALLY APPRECIATE IN THE BRITISH DOCUMENT THE EUROPEAN SPIRIT BEYOND BEING ATLANTIC -- WHICH CHARACTERIZES IT AND SHARE ENTIRELY THE CENTRAL IDEA OF DISASSOCIATING AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN FORCES BY SEPARATING IN A VERY CLEAR MANNER THE NEGOTIATING PHASE WHICH REFERS TO THESE AMERICAN FORCES. THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS ON EUROPEAN FORCES COULD BE INDICATED IN PRELIMINARY UNDERSTANDINGS BUT SHOULD NOT HOWEVER BE THE OBJECT OF A SPECIFIC AGREEMENT, AS HAS BEEN INDICATED INTER ALIA AND QUITE CORRECTLY IN PARAGRAPH 15 OF THE BRITISH DOCUMENT;

2) SHARE THE FEAR THAT THE SOVIETS WILL TRY TO ACT IN A BILATERAL MANNER WITH THE AMERICANS IN ORDER TO DIVIDE THE ALLIANCE AND ISOLATE THE EUROPEANS FROM ATLANTIC DEFENSE.

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A PARALLEL DANGER EXISTS AS IS WELL KNOWN FOR FBS IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS NECESSARY IN THE TWO CASES TO BE ON GUARD IN ORDER TO AVOID THE DETACHMENT OF THE EUROPEAN THEATER FROM THE ENGAGEMENT OF THE CENTRAL STRATEGIC FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES AND FROM THE GLOBAL STRATEGY OF THE ALLIANCE. IT WILL BE NECESSARY CONSEQUENTLY TO BE ON GUARD THAT THE SOLUTION ENVISAGED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS BY ROME, THAT IS TO SAY THE SOLUTION WHICH INVOLVES LIMITED REDUCTIONS, AT LEAST DURING THE FIRST PHASE, RESTRICTED TO THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN FORCES STATIONED IN CENTRAL EUROPE, DOES NOT RESULT IN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ABOVE AND BEYOND OUR CONTROL WITH ALL THE RISKS WHICH ARE UNDERLINED IN THE BRITISH DOCUMENT. THE SOLUTION ENVISAGED IN THE LATEST AMERICAN DOCUMENT SEEMS

TO US OTHERWISE ADEQUATE TO SAFEGUARD OUR INTERESTS AND MAINTAIN THE NEGOTIATION IN A MULTILATERAL CONTEXT WHICH TAKES ACCOUNT OF THE OVERALL INTEREST OF THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE.

3) THE BRITISH SPEAK OF "PHYSICAL INSPECTIONS" ON SITE, WHICH SHOULD BE FORESEEN IN ORDER TO VERIFY THE FUTURE MBFR AGREEMENT; THE AMERICANS ON THEIR SIDE ARE OF THE OPINION THAT SATELLITE INSPECTIONS ARE SUFFICIENT. THE AMERICAN APPROACH IS PERHAPS MORE REALISTIC BUT THE BRITISH APPROACH IS WITHOUT DOUBT BETTER FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE NEGOTIATION. WHEN THE SOVIETS REFUSE THE PRESENCE OF INSPECTORS ON THEIR TERRITORY -- AS THEY HAVE ALWAYS DONE DURING DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS -- WE WILL HAVE THE POSSIBILITY TO TAKE UP THE AMERICA FORMULA WHICH CAN BE PRESENTED, AT THAT TIME, AS A CONCESSION TO THE EAST AND AS SUCH NEGOTIATED IN THE MOST OPPORTUNE FASHION;

4) CONSIDER THAT THE IDEAS ACCORDING TO WHICH CERTAIN CONSTRAINTS AND CERTAIN VERIFICATION MEASURES SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE REDUCED FORCES RATHER THAN TO TERRITORIES AND LIMITED ONLY TO THE AMERICAN AND SOVIET FORCES ARE EXCELLENT AND DESERVE DEEPER STUDY. ONE COULD THUS AVOID SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN EUROPEAN MILITARY QUESTIONS AND THE INFLUENCE OF MOSCOW ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMON EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY;

5) CONSIDER THE EVALUATION, EXPRESSED ON THE THIRD OPTION OF THE AMERICAN DOCUMENT OF APRIL 30 RELATING TO SOME NUCLEAR SYSTEMS STATIONED IN THE REDUCTION ZONE, BALANCED  
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IN SUBSTANCE EVEN IF, IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POSSIBLE NEGOTIATION OF THIS OPTION, WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO IGNORE THE PARTICULAR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRUDENCE WHICH HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED BY OUR MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

IN CONCLUSION, THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES, CONSIDER HAVING IN MIND THE CONSIDERATIONS ABOVE, THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO SHARE THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRUDENCE, PARTICULARLY ON THE PROCEDURAL PLAIN, FORMULATED BY THE BRITISH. IN EFFECT OUR STRATEGY IN NEGOTIATIONS COULD LOSE ITS CREDIBILITY AND EFFICACY IF  
TH

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SECDEF INFO BONN  
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ROME  
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USNMR SHAPE

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